643 584 day is fixed for a visit to the capital where it will be concluded.

Let us consider the procedure in the case of the marriage of Ñwamantibyane, the youthful chief of Mpfumo, who has since been exiled. The following account of the discussion preparatory to the marriage is given on the authority of Tobane, a witness of the proceedings, and will aptly illustrate the etiquette observed on such occasions.

643 584 651 622 The dignitaries are assembled, and one of them, the brother of the deceased chief, commences thus: "Well, you the chiefs of Mpfumo! In truth! If we are assembled here to-day, is it not that we have truly seen that we must, in fact, increase the chief, and give him the wife of the country? This is all the business, you, the chiefs." One of those addressed replies: "In putting the matter before us, hast thou been unequal to the task? (No! understood.) And we, what further words could we add? Nothing remains to be said... You then tell us what we shall have to give you, dwellers in the capital!" Then the secondary chiefs say: "For our part, we will give each one pound sterling or an ox, as you may prefer." The headmen of the villages will each contribute ten shillings and each village one shilling besides. In former times, before the circulation of money in the country, each one gave a hoe.

The secondary chiefs go back to their own districts and get together the money or the oxen as the case may be. This done, the fact is duly notified to the capital and all the contributions are conveyed to the chief. An account is kept of all monies or cattle contributed. When Ñwamantibyane was married the special subscription amounted to thirty pounds sterling and twenty oxen.

643 582 The future queen was chosen from the royal family of Matjolo; her name was Mimalengane. The young chief had only seen her on one occasion, when she was returning from Gaza. Nevertheless she was his first cousin once removed; Hamule, father of Zihlala and grandfather of Ñwamantibyane, married the sister of Malengane, chief of Matjolo, and his daughter was Mimalengane (the prefix *mi* signifies daughter of), who was now

796 gait, brandishing sticks with pieces of red cloth attached as
273 pennants. They are in search of full barrels! It must be said
786 that the inebriety produced by the bukanye is of a rather mild type, as this Native beer contains very little alcohol ; but the quantity absorbed is so enormous that it ends by going to their heads : this is more especially so with the bukanye brewed from a species of nkanye called *nunge*, which appears to be stronger and more intoxicating.

796 How far does sexual licence go during the bukanye ? Not to
273 the point of general promiscuity, as amongst the Ba-Pedi after the circumcision school. However many cases of adultery occur.
833 Men and women forget the elementary rules of condvet. They
786 attend to the wants of nature in the same places, which is taboo under ordinary circumstances : "Nau a wa ha tiyi,"—"the law is no longer in force."

796 Still, in the midst of all this carnival, the payment of the tax
273 must not be forgotten... This is the time to carry to the chief the liquor which is flowing so freely on all sides, but of which
643 he claims the lion's share. Each petty chief sends his people
631 to the capital with brimming jars. This is termed "lumisa hosi," supplying the chief with new wine. The women do not enter the capital at once, but go to one of the counsellors, who promptly abstracts a couple of jars for his own use. The chief returns one or two jars to the carriers, as they have come a long way and are doubtless thirsty ; the remainder will be kept to refresh the very numerous guests at the Court ; any coming from afar will spend the night and not return until the next day. I have seen a company of these women carrying baskets
539 full of makanye to Muzila. How graceful was the Indian file winding its way along the path and singing, amongst others, the following chorus : (See for further particulars *Chants et Contes des Ba-Ronga*, page 46.)

Chwe! Chwe! Hi laba shimungu — Leshi ka — Le tilwen!
Chwe! Chwe! Shimungu hi mani? — Hi Mzila! — Hi Mzila!
Hi! Hi! We seek the hawk! — Who soars — In the sky!
Hi! Hi! Who is the hawk? — It is Mzila! — It is Mzila!

643 wife in the path follows her husband who walks at his ease, with
651 his stick in his hand, whilst she carries his belongings in her basket
641 on her head... If the prerogative of the chief is to live in abundance, the duty of the subject is to pay taxes! This duty is expressed by the word *luba* (Dj.), *hlenga* (Ro.). It is so true that this is the principal function of the subject that, when a man leaves his clan and goes to live in another clan, he comes to the chief and says : "I want to *luba* or *nkonza* (a word borrowed by the Rongas from the Zulus), to pay the tax..." This is the proper way of making his submission.

643 The explanation of the rites of the first fruits throws much light on the Bantu conception of the chief's position in respect to his subjects. For them he is certainly endowed with the divine right more fully than the King or the Kaiser in any European country ; he is the *son* of the gods, not only their protégé... The gods are the lords of everything... He shares this lordship with them. Hence his right of taxing his subjects. On the other hand we saw that he is the *soil*! He is more than Lewis XIV, who could say: "L'État c'est moi!" The Bantu chief can say : "I am the earth! — Le sol c'est moi!" Hence, on the part of the subjects, the duty of sharing with him the products of the soil and also of their hunting.

643 The Thonga chief taxes his subjects in four different ways :
651 he takes a regular portion of the harvest ; he claims a part of
241 most of the wild beasts killed ; he makes his people work for him ;
273 he also taxes the revenue of those who go away to work for the Whites. A fifth source of his revenue is found in the fines imposed in judicial cases.

1. As regards *taxation of the products of the soil*, it consists in a basket (shihundju) of mealies contributed by each village at harvest time. This is the regular taxation. Moreover those who brew a great quantity of beer for a feast always send some jars to the chief, especially when the season of tilling the fields or threshing the grain has come. This is not a regular tax, at least amongst the Ba-Ronga, and is considered as *mashobo*, an act of civility, and not as *hlenga* proper. Bukanye must be brought to the capital in great quantities during the great national feast.

643 651 In the Northern clans it seems that these payments in kind called *shirwalo* (carrying of beer, from ku rwala, to carry), are expected from all those who are not hunters and bring no meat to the capital.

643 651 224 825 2. The right of the chief *over wild beasts killed in hunting* is not the same for all game. Rhinoceros is not taxed ; it is even taboo to bring its meat to the chief. On the contrary when a man has killed a wild buffalo, an elan, a giraffe or an antelope, he must first cut some joints for the chief. If it is a panther or a lion, he must give up the skin ; if an elephant, the tusk which scratched the soil when it fell belongs to the chief ; it is "the tusk of the soil," and the chief is "the soil." The other tusk is for the hunter (ndlayi). In the Maputju country, it was even forbidden to kill elephants. Ngwanazi, the chief who was deported in 1896, had reserved the monopoly of elephant hunting for himself and his warriors. The hippopotamus is taxed more heavily than any other beast. The hunter who has succeeded in killing one has not the right of cutting it open. Should he do so, it would be considered a serious offence. He might be put to death. (Mankhelu.) He must at once send word to the capital, and the men of the Court will come immediately and cut up the animal, taking half the joints to the chief. As for the crocodile, it must also be opened by the men of the Court, because it contains many things such as marvellous stones used in magic, and bracelets of the women whom it has devoured. The chief appropriates what he pleases amongst these objects.

643 466 3. *Statute labour* is one of the main revenues of the royal kraal. In some cases, subjects must come to the capital, led by their sub-chiefs, and till a field for the chief or rather for the queen who has been bought with the nation's money. In Nondwane, which is a large country, each of the sub-clans must till a field for the wives of the chief in its own territory. For instance, in each of the districts of Mapulangu, Bandi, Manuel, Maghebeza, Malwan, Hlangunyingin, the chief Mubvesha possessed a royal field which his subjects weeded and harvested every year, and the sub-chief Habele, who was in charge of those districts, had to gather the mealies and carry them to the capital. This official tilling is done

1: Junod M-5 (1895-1909)1927 Thonga

643 766 in the form of a *djimo*. (See Part IV.) Moreover the young men are always at the disposal of the chief to clean his public square, build his huts, repair the thatched roofs of the royal kraal and organise hunting expeditions for him.

643 651 4. But the greater part of the royal revenue consists now in *money* which the chief receives from his subjects. Mubvesha taxes each village a sum of 500 reis besides the regular basket of mealies. At the end of the bukanye feast, each village must send him another 500 reis to notify him that the feast is ended. When a young man returns from Johannesburg having made enough money to lobola a wife, he must leave £ 1.10.0 in the hands of the chief. The latter also recruits boys whom he sends to the recruiting agents, getting as much as £ 1 or £ 1.10.0 per head. When a sub-chief dies, his people inform the paramount chief of his death, bringing a sum of money (1500 reis). The chief, however, does not receive any portion of the inheritance in the case of a death. There is no taxation on the succession.

643 651 681 5. A great deal of money comes into the hands of the chief *owing to fines which he imposes* when acting as supreme judge. When a plaintiff brings a case and the culprit is condemned to pay him £ 25, Mubvesha keeps £ 10 for himself ; he retains £ 5 if the fine is £ 10.

643 631 651 Sub-chiefs do not tax their subjects as a rule. They must bring to their superior all the products of taxation. They do not "eat" anything. But in some cases the chief gives them a part of it. Thus Habele, sub-chief of Rikatla, used to "eat" half of the taxes brought to him by young men coming back from Johannesburg.

V. *Dangers and difficulties of the Chieftainship.*

643 654 Endowed with supernatural power which he owes to his magical medicines, feared and sometimes loved by his subjects, with plenty to eat and richer than any of his people, who readily consent to be taxed, the chief occupies an enviable position. The chieftainship (buhosi), therefore, is very much sought after and no

I: Junod M-5 (1895-1909)1927 Thonga

177 lobola money. But they learn to spend money on other things, and
461 those who are converts to Christianity become regular purchasers of
631 clothing, of better food, of books. The high taxation to which they are subjected also forces them to work. As long as this does not exceed a reasonable limit, and as long as the State causes the Native community to benefit by the high taxes levied on it, it is justifiable although this way of enforcing labour is not so normally healthy as the creation of
241 new wants (1). Another powerful influence which tends to make men
177 work more and to relieve women from the toil of tilling the fields, is
412 this. Wishing to make money by selling grain, the Natives are begin-
462 ning to clear larger fields than before, and we note with pleasure that they have adopted the use of the plough instead of the hoe in a great many quarters. The consequence of this change is that the men now do

466 (1) Another means has been used to obtain the same result, i. e. compulsory labour
P. (in Thonga *xhibalu*). It is not at all my intention to treat this important but delicate
177. subject here. The League of Nations created in 1924 a special Slavery Commission
46 which has very ably and fully discussed the whole subject. These discussions have resulted in a Convention which was adopted by the Assembly of 1926; art. 5, which deals with forced labour, runs as follows:

The High Contracting Parties recognise that recourse to compulsory or forced labour may have grave consequences and undertake, each in respect of the territories placed under its sovereignty, jurisdiction, protection, suzerainty or tutelage, to take all necessary measures to prevent compulsory or forced labour from developing into conditions analogous to slavery.

It is agreed that:

(1) Subject to the transitional provisions laid down in paragraph (2) below, compulsory or forced labour may only be exacted for public purposes.

(2) In territories in which compulsory or forced labour for other than public purposes still survives, the High Contracting Parties shall endeavour progressively and as soon as possible to put an end to the practice. So long as such forced or compulsory labour exists, this labour shall invariably be of an exceptional character, shall always receive adequate remuneration, and shall not involve the removal of the labourers from their usual place of residence.

(3) In all cases, the responsibility for any recourse to compulsory or forced labour shall rest with the competent central authorities of the territory concerned.

The League of Nations has thus established the general principles, and nearly thirty States have already signed the Convention; amongst these we note with pleasure Great Britain and Portugal. Now the question has been transferred to the International Labour Office, which must deal with the application of the Convention. A special Committee of experts has been elected and it is hoped that it will fix general principles for Coloured Labour, which shall be submitted to the General Labour Conference in a not distant future.

I am glad to add that the Portuguese Government has recently issued a decree (No 12.533) which has been published in the *Bolletim official de Moçambique*, November 1926, and which contains the following article (Art. 5. § unico): *Compulsory labour is only permitted when absolutely indispensable, for works of public interest and of undeniable urgency. This labour will be remunerated according to circumstances.*

137 4) The *ntjopfa* (mu-mi), the wild custard tree, employed to
372 light the sacred fire of nyokwekulu (I. p. 388). It is taboo to use it for ordinary purposes, or to warm oneself at its embers. Medicine-men alone are allowed to make ntjopfa fire, having drugs to prevent the disease caused by its use.

372 Dealing with fire taboos, I may add that it is taboo to use
784 branches of a tree which has been struck by lightning ; taboo also to keep alight the fire of a deceased person after the conclusion of the great mourning. It must be ritually extinguished (I. p. 135). In case of misfortune also (khombo), if the bones order it, the old fire must be put out and a new fire be lighted on the central fire-place of the first wife by means of the wooden flint. Each woman will go and take an ember from it and start her own fire again. These laws show that in the eyes of the Bantus there is an intimate connection between fire and the life of the village. When death or misfortune contaminates the community, fire is affected also, and it must be destroyed if the village is to resume its normal life.

372 Gungunyana used to levy a tax on fire : he ordered all the
651 fires of his kingdom to be extinguished at a certain time, and sent messengers to relight them by means of embers procured from the royal kraal. Each village had to pay a tax for the new fire. It seems that this kind of royal right was exercised in the old times by the famous Monomotapa king. Nothing of the kind is met with amongst the more modest Thonga chiefs.

372 The manner of producing fire with the wooden flint is as follows. A dry branch of the tree is secured, from half an inch to an inch thick, and cut into two pieces, each of about 18 inches in length ; one half is called the wife (nsati), the other half, the husband (nuna). The first piece, the female, is laid on the ground and a notch is made in it with a knife ; the notch is cut in two movements : first on the upper part of the wood, secondly on the side of it. The male is then somewhat rounded, inserted perpendicularly in the notch, held firmly between the palms of the hands and made to revolve by a rapid motion of the hands from top to bottom. The operator having reached the bottom of

226 the fishing is finished, they all sit down and compare their catches.
651 Perhaps an enormous barbel has been caught, "the king of the lake," as these fish sometimes attain a very large size. "Woo! a dle ñhwakwe!" — "Oh! he has killed his mother," say the men, making fun of the fortunate fisherman! But the chief sends an induna who levies the tax. Each fisherman unties one fish from his string and gives it to him.

226 The tjeba fishing is practised all over Thongaland, in Ronga
782 territory, where such ponds are numerous in the sandy hollows, amongst the Hlabis, and in the neighbourhood of rivers where there are lagoons which dry up, as far as the Maluleke country. Should there be crocodiles in the pond, which may very well happen when the lake is connected with the Limpopo or the Nkomati, the religious ceremony is more important on account of the danger incurred. Then the bones are thrown and declare who must make the offering in order to secure adequate protection from the ancestor-gods. The officiator enters the lake first, and, plunging his shiranga into the water, says : "If you are here, crocodile, go away! you hyena, do not bite." Amongst the Maluleke, a man of the Ba-Nyai tribe must perform the religious ceremony, as the Ba-Nyai were in the country before the Thongas. He must go first and catch a fish, bring it out alive, and then, surrounded by his fellow Ba-Nyai, offer it to his ancestor-gods. Then he throws it back into the water. The Thonga chief, having ordered his men to keep silence, then makes the following proclamation in a loud voice : "Let the fish abound, and kill them all, but do not bewitch each other!"

226 The Hlengwes have a very curious custom which I have already
825 explained when discussing the Bantu notion of sexual relations
834 (I. p. 189). When they *tjeba* they take a little boy and a little girl, and lay them down together under a lion's skin, as if they were husband and wife, during all the time that they are fishing. The children keep quiet, — so the fish will also keep quiet and not swim away. When the fishing is concluded, these children are "awakened," and are given a part of the catch : they are praised and thanked, as they are supposed to have secured the fish by their action... or rather by their inaction! This very significant